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AMERICAN OCEAN STEAMSHIPS:
THEIR NECESSITY TO AMERICAN INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE.

S P E E C H

OF

MR. ELLIOT C. COWDIN,

OF NEW-YORK,

BEFORE THE

NATIONAL EXPORT TRADE CONVENTION,

AT

WASHINGTON, D. C.,

FEBRUARY 19th, 1878.

NEW-YORK:

PRESS OF THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.

1878.

SPEECH.

THE Convention was organized by the appointment of Ex-Governor HENRY LIPPITT, of Rhode Island, as permanent President. On motion of Hon. AMASA NORCROSS, Member of Congress from Massachusetts, it was resolved, that Mr. ELLIOT C. COWDIN, of New-York, delegate from the Chamber of Commerce, be invited to address the Convention.

Thereupon Mr. COWDIN, having first made his acknowledgments to the Convention, spoke as follows :

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION :

THE depressed condition of the commercial marine of this country is obvious to even superficial observers ; while it is humiliating to merchants, ruinous to ship-owners and ship-builders, and alarming to far-seeing statesmen, who remember the days of our maritime prosperity and power.

Need this be so ? Is there no revival in store for us ? Does not the country teem with products toward which foreign peoples stretch out their hands ? Are not our artisans competent to construct ships ? Can we not furnish skillful mariners for navigating them ?

The answer to these questions is found in the fact, that it is but a few years since the tonnage of our shipping, foreign and domestic,

ranked only second among the nations, and that to-day the total tonnage demanded by our own productions is greater than that of any other country. Most assuredly we ought to have our own ships to do our own carrying trade.

To measure the extent of the decline in our commerce, and the causes that produced it, and the means that can be employed for its revival, it will be profitable to institute some comparisons between the past and the present.

The late Mr. LINDSAY, M. P., in his instructive work on Merchant Shipping, speaking of this country, says: "Within eighty years from the Declaration of Independence they rivalled, and, indeed, surpassed in the amount of their merchant shipping, all other nations." We might think this an erroneous statement, did we not know that the author included in it our coastwise and inland navigation, as well as that with foreign ports. The same British authority further asserts that, embracing all these branches, this country, in 1860, owned nearly as much tonnage as Great Britain and all her colonies and possessions combined.

British ship-owners began to be alarmed at our progress. We had built our clipper ships, we had engrossed the trade of California, and from thence over the Pacific to China, and we had established the Collins line of steamers for crossing the Atlantic, surpassing in speed and accommodations the ships of all other nations. A few statistics, in round numbers, will show that this alarm of our hereditary rival on the ocean was not groundless.

Of the tonnage engaged in our foreign trade in 1850, sixty per cent. was carried in American bottoms, and but forty per cent. in foreign bottoms, mainly British. Our foreign trade largely increased from 1850 to 1860. The tonnage employed in it, which entered into and cleared from our ports in 1850, aggregated 8,710,000 tons. In 1860 it had risen to 17,100,000 tons. But, whereas, in 1850, only 60 per cent. of it was carried in American bottoms, our vessels carried 71 per cent. of it in 1860. This was a handsome gain, both in our trade and in our tonnage, during these ten years. It was in the dark and perilous winter of 1860-61, that our ocean shipping began to decline.

As already seen, our own ships carried 71 per cent. of our freight trade in 1860. But in 1870, ten years later, though the aggregate tonnage engaged in foreign commerce that entered and cleared at our ports was larger in 1870 than in 1860, only 38 per cent. of it was transported in American bottoms. Our tonnage had fallen off 33 per cent. in these ten years. Official reports show that a

very large share of this decrease went to Great Britain, and but little of it to France or any other nation. The British tonnage entering and leaving her ports for foreign countries, in 1860, was 14,000,000 tons, and rose to 25,000,000 in 1870. As our flag went down, Britain's rose to take its place. And this sombre picture has grown darker with the march of time. In our Centennial year, when the nations of the earth sent representatives to congratulate us on our prosperity and power, observant eyes discovered the humiliating fact, that scarcely more than one-fourth of our trade with those nations was carried on by ships that bore the American flag.

The same general results are arrived at in another mode. I have heretofore spoken of the aggregate tonnage engaged in foreign trade which annually entered and cleared at our ports. Let us look at the actual tonnage of such of these vessels as carried the American flag. In 1850 their tonnage was 1,600,000; in 1860, 2,600,000; in 1870, 1,500,000; while the actual tonnage of British vessels of the same kind stood in 1850 at 4,200,000; in 1860 at 5,700,000; in 1870 at 7,200,000, thus showing that our loss from 1860 to 1870 was Great Britain's gain. And we have been steadily declining since then. In 1873, the actual tonnage of our ships of this class had fallen to 1,400,000, and in 1875 it had dropped to 1,150,000. Our decline is strikingly exhibited by comparisons respecting steam vessels engaged in foreign commerce. On this great field of enterprise the United States, in 1853, ranked fourth among the nations. But in 1860, in the time of our greatest need, just previous to the civil war, we ranked no higher than the fifteenth. That terrible tempest almost swept our flag from the ocean, whether borne by vessels propelled by sail or by steam.

We will come down to a recent date, and still further prove that though our commerce with foreign countries increases, our own carrying trade has fallen into alien hands. In 1877, the domestic exports of the United States were valued at \$671,000,000. But of these, \$515,000,000 were transported in foreign vessels, and only \$156,000,000 in our own; *i. e.*, only about one-fifth were transported in bottoms that lifted our own ensign, and four-fifths in bottoms bearing foreign flags.

But I will no longer dwell exclusively upon the depressed condition of our commercial marine, but proceed to consider some of the causes that produced it.

It will be remembered, that while our ocean shipping, propelled by sails, increased steadily and kept full pace with our foreign

trade down to the commencement of the Civil War, the number and aggregate tonnage of our ocean steamers, employed in foreign trade, had already greatly declined. The growth of the former was natural, for it had a fair field of competition with the sailing vessels of other nations. For lack of protection during the war, even this was almost swept away. It fell into the hands of rival nations in the course of the four calamitous years of the great struggle, and it has not yet recovered from that disastrous blow. While fostering care, liberal legislation and generous aid, have from that day to the present built up our rivals, our own shipping interest has received little encouragement or sympathy from our own people, and no support from our Government.

In speaking thus far, I have had in view mainly our sailing vessels. I now turn to our ocean steamships. As already shown, these had begun to be hauled off previous to the war. During the four years' strife, they hardly dared cross the seas. Though now in a less deplorable condition than then, in that respect, yet, their revival without government aid is indeed hopeless.

The American people have been familiar with steam navigation from the days of FULTON. During the twenty-five years that succeeded his first successful voyage upon the Hudson River, we had become foremost among the nations for the number of steam vessels and the miles they annually traversed. We had not crossed the ocean, but we had navigated it by steamboats for thousands of miles along our own coasts, and up mighty rivers, and over vast inland seas, of whose extent the average mind of Europe had but faint conceptions.

Without exaggeration, we had, in the year 1838, a larger steamboat tonnage, and more experience in that branch of navigation, than any other people. Nevertheless, when in that year the little, low, dingy steamer, *Sirius*, dropped anchor in the harbor of New-York, on the termination of a voyage from Liverpool, she was an object of intense curiosity to our people, especially to ship-owners and seamen, and her presence in our waters opened up to penetrating eyes the long vista of the future. Still, to our hardy mariners, who were accustomed to traverse the seacoast in steamers from Portland to New-Orleans, and up our great rivers and over our vast lakes, the *Sirius* was rather an object of interest than of wonder; they felt sure that what she had done, they could easily do.

But England, fixing her keen and envious eye upon the spectacle in the harbor of New-York, instantly determined to become the navigator of the Atlantic by steam from Europe to America. She

first supplanted the *Sirius* with the more spacious and inviting *Great Western*. The success of this well remembered vessel inspired England to strike for supremacy in ocean steam navigation. And the hour brought with it the man. As early as 1830, Mr. SAMUEL CUNARD, of Halifax, had conceived the idea of establishing a mail service, by steamers, from Liverpool to Halifax, and thence to Boston. His scheme was deemed visionary. But persevering resolutely, he visited England, and after many vicissitudes and the lapse of anxious years, he met with such encouragement from the British Government that he was able to enlist capital, and build ships for carrying into effect his original purpose. The result was the famous Cunard line. But the founder of this enterprise would have utterly failed in his efforts, had not the British Government first entered into a contract with him and his associates to pay them £55,000 or say \$275,000 per annum, for providing three suitable steamers in which they were to carry the mails twice a month between Liverpool and Boston *via* Halifax. The *Britannia*, the steamer that made the first voyage under this contract, sailed from Liverpool on the 4th of July, 1840. Her engines were of 740 horse-power; her cargo capacity was only 225 tons; she could accommodate but 90 passengers, and her average speed was eight and a quarter knots per hour.

Insignificant, indeed, would she now appear by the side of the mammoth vessels of later days, the *Bothnia*, for example, of 3,000 tons cargo capacity, and accommodations for 340 passengers, with engines of 2,780 horse-power, running 13 knots per hour, and that, too, with a consumption of coal during the voyage scarcely greater than that of the earliest steamers. Yet the *Britannia* was the pioneer that led the way to the navigation of the globe by great steamship companies. The Cunard line grew apace. Her founder, encouraged by additional Government aid, gradually enlarging the capacity of his ships, increased their number to 49. The Government advanced its subsidy to the company for mail service, till it approached half a million of dollars annually.

The founder of this line died not long since, covered with honors, but the line still lives, sustained by the patronage of a comprehensive and practical people. I have dwelt upon this particular case, because it illustrates the policy pursued by Great Britain in fostering ocean steam navigation for the last 38 years, until reaching a point where she has few rivals and no superior. I have done it, too, because it affords a striking proof of the fact, that even England, upon whose dominions the sun has not

gone down for a century, could not found and maintain successfully steamship lines, without bestowing upon them generous support for carrying the mails.

The Collins line of ocean steamers of this country may be mentioned in connection with the Cunard line, to exhibit the broad difference between the policy of the two Governments. This line was established in 1845. Our Government contracted with Mr. E. K. COLLINS and his associates, for transporting the mails from New-York to Liverpool, in four first-class steamships, making twenty trips a year, for which the Post Office Department was to pay annually the sum of \$385,000. Mr. COLLINS entered into this agreement with the avowed object of restoring American prestige in navigating the Atlantic between this country and Europe. He promptly built four ships of 3,250 tons burden, and embarked upon his enterprise with high hopes. In 1852, his pay was increased to \$858,000 per annum; and in 1855, he constructed another splendid steamer of 5,000 tons.

Now, mark the course of Great Britain. In the face of this competition, she stimulated the Cunard Company, by largely increased benefactions for mail service, to place additional and better steamers on the line between Liverpool and the United States; and by the like methods, brought new steamship companies into existence, to run their vessels between the two countries; and thus, by what may be called a combined attack upon our American line, to cripple it, reduce its income, and, if possible, drive it from the ocean.

In this race with our hereditary rival, what was the course of the American Government? In 1856 the compensation to the COLLINS line was reduced to \$385,000 per annum. This was the first blow struck at the enterprise. It reeled and staggered under it till 1857, when Congress refused to renew the contract for mail service at any price, and the COLLINS line was compelled to lower its flag, and give up the contest. So, the American Government, ignoring the patriotic efforts of statesmen like RUSK of Texas, DOUGLAS of Illinois, and HAMLIN of Maine, guided by the counsel of JEFFERSON DAVIS and JUDAH P. BENJAMIN, adopted a niggardly policy, and played directly into the hands of England. Thus it was that Mr. COLLINS, shattered in fortune and disheartened in spirit, disappeared from the public view; and after a lapse of twenty years, a few old friends have recently borne him to the grave.

How widely different was the conduct of England in a similar emergency a few years later? Lord STANLEY, in a report to Par-

liament in 1862, stated, "that the American mails in their ordinary course entail a heavy loss;" but it was not proposed to withdraw from the field for that reason, but to increase the lines and extend their service, because the Government knew, that it was by an adherence to this policy that England, in the long run, had won her supremacy on the seas.

This is especially true of ocean steamers, a branch of navigation of comparatively modern date, and whose history is, therefore, within our own knowledge. Every student of this subject has learned that those lines of steamers that have received Government aid, have lived and flourished, and in many instances have grown great and powerful; while, on the other hand, those which have not been thus sustained, have languished, and finally been compelled to succumb. The facts also demonstrate, that those countries which have maintained these lines have largely increased their foreign commerce, have found new markets for their home productions, have secured a constantly enlarging share of the carrying trade of the world, and by these modes have been remunerated ten-fold for the comparatively trivial sums paid for transporting the mails. And so certain is all this, that we may rest assured, that England, at least, will never abandon her system of mail subsidies so long as they are needed to enable that proud power to maintain her maritime ascendancy, or compete with rivals who would wrest it from her. To trace the history of this question, even in the merest outlines, makes it necessary to give some statistics.

It will be remembered that Great Britain was not only the pioneer among the nations in trans-oceanic steam-navigation, but she has been the most persistent of all the countries of the globe in pursuing her grand idea. In 1853, the steam vessels that entered the ports of Great Britain, from foreign ports, numbered 4,505, with an aggregate tonnage of 1,335,636 tons. Of these, 3,984 were British, with a tonnage of 1,176,850, while 35 were American, with a tonnage of 46,670.

Now mark the result of the two policies of these rival nations in regard to affording aid to ocean steamers, in the following eight years. In 1861, 8,696 steam vessels entered British ports from foreign ports, having a tonnage of 2,801,743 tons, of which 7,209 were British, with a tonnage of 2,375,856 tons, and only 5 were American, with a total of 7,778 tons. Or, in other words, in those ten years, British steamships, entering her ports from foreign ports, increased 3,315 in number, and 1,199,006 in tonnage, while ours, which entered her ports, fell in number from 35 to a paltry 5, and

in tonnage, from 46,670 to 7,778. So, even then England had nearly swept our steamers from the European trade.

And what was the cause of her increase and of our decline? She paid the price of her prosperity in a liberal compensation for mail service, and thereby kept her flag afloat, while we, failing to appreciate the emergency, and with eyes shut to future consequences, left our ocean lines to languish and finally die.

A passing reference to Brazil will show what rich remuneration comes to the wise people who lay out moderate sums upon steamships to facilitate trade with their customers in other lands. From 1840 to 1850 the average annual commerce between England and Brazil was £2,000,000. There was then no steamship line between the two nations. During these ten years our trade with Brazil was much greater than England's, because our clippers could out sail her ships. But in 1850, England established a line of steamers to Rio de Janeiro, and in the next three years her trade with Brazil had increased nearly 150 per cent., and in 1855, mark this, it had increased 300 per cent. In this field of competition, instead of meeting British steam with steam, we virtually abandoned the contest, and the result was that just about in proportion as her commerce with Brazil rose, ours fell. And so it has continued to this day.

Before giving a few more statistics demonstrating the main cause of the decline of our ocean steam marine, especially in competition with England, I will reiterate, that the chief obstructions lying in our path are, that ocean steamship companies cannot flourish or even live without Government assistance in some form; that such ships must be constructed of iron, and on a liberal scale; that American capitalists, without the assurance of Government aid, will not face the fierce contest they are sure to encounter from existing foreign lines, and make the large investments which are absolutely necessary to enter the field with any prospect of success; and that under present circumstances no prudent man of business will risk a dollar for the establishment of a first class line of ocean steamers between this and any foreign country.

Mr. President: though I myself have no pecuniary interest whatever in navigation, I know something of ocean steamers. During a long experience in the foreign trade, it has been my lot to cross the Atlantic upwards of eighty times, in vessels of nearly every line, beginning in 1846, in the little *Hibernia*, one of the pioneer steamers of the Cunard line, and ending with the floating palace, *Baltic*, of the White Star line. I frankly confess to the weakness—if a weakness it is, that from my youth I have always had a de-

cided preference for ships bearing the American flag, but where are they now?

I conjure you, Mr. President, and gentlemen of the Convention, to pause for a moment, and reflect upon the fact, that this great republic, with an enlightened and energetic population of 40,000,000 of people—proud of their vast territory, proud of their agricultural and mineral wealth, proud of their achievements in industry and manufactures, proud of their great railways and canals, proud of their fifty thousand miles of inland navigation of rivers and lakes, proud of a sea-coast of unparalleled extent—on two great oceans can scarcely boast of a single first-class ocean steamship, entirely suited to the wants of the times, now traversing the Atlantic.

The experience of the past is replete with lessons for the future. We started too late in the race, but we ran well for a time. We began in 1845, with the Collins line to Liverpool and the line to Bremen. In 1850 our Government was paying for mail service on ocean steamships \$1,840,000, about \$1,200,000 of which was for European lines, and the residue was for lines to the Pacific coast, Havana, Panama, Charleston and New-Orleans. But, as already stated, we finally grew weary of well-doing, and our great competitor left us far in the rear. In the ten years from 1867-76, both inclusive, Great Britain expended for ocean mail service more than fifty-two millions of dollars (\$52,000,000.) In the same period we expended for the same object \$5,800,000, less than one-fourth of which was for service to Brazil, and nearly all the rest to the Pacific Mail Steamship Company. Thus it appears that England paid in those ten years about ten times as much as the United States. Is it any wonder we are practically excluded from the seas?

Let us trace a little further the munificent track of the long-sighted power which boasts that her home is on the deep. In the beginning of the past year, England was under contracts for paying nearly \$5,000,000 annually for ocean mail subsidies to foreign ports, chiefly to the East Indies and Australia, to the West Indies and South America, and to the United States. The amount she was then paying to lines running to this country was £111,981, or say \$560,000.

It is a part of the British policy to increase or reduce the subsidy to the lines in proportion as competition is great or little. It is significant of Britain's persistency in following a path that leads directly to new markets for her manufactures, and enables her to grasp more and more of the carrying trade of the world, that in no

instance has she diminished these subsidies, except where competition ceased to be of consequence.

Mark the different course we have pursued. But we could not dispense with mail service; and having so few facilities for transporting mails in our own steamers, see to what humiliating shifts we were compelled to resort. In the ten years, from 1860 to 1869, both inclusive, we paid for sea postage, in round numbers, \$4,800,000. Of this sum there went to steamers owned by foreigners, \$3,420,000, and only \$1,380,000 to steamers owned by Americans. In 1876, the English, French, German and Dutch Governments paid to foreign Steamship Companies, for such service to this country, the sum, in round numbers, of \$1,170,000. Now, in that very year we paid to these same foreign lines, for carrying letters from our Post Office Department, nearly \$200,000. Or, in other words, we, instead of trying to establish lines of our own, subsidized the foreign lines that were already subsidized by their own governments to enable them to drive our flag from the ocean.

The three great Ocean Steamship Companies of the world, at the present time, are the Cunnard Company—of unparalleled success—its steamers having run for thirty-eight years, without the loss of one life or one letter entrusted to their charge, with its 49 steam vessels of 90,200 tons and 14,500 horse-power. The Peninsular and Oriental Company, with its fleet of 50 sea-going steamers, measuring 122,000 tons and 22,000 horse-power, which conveys the mails to all the ports of the East; and for a service of 1,171,092 miles, receives \$2,150,000. The Compagnie des Messageries Maritimes, of France, the largest Steamship Company in existence, whose fleet, in 1875, had reached 65 ships, measuring 175,000 tons, 39,000 horse-power, and was receiving for a service of 631,514 miles, within a fraction of \$2,000,000.

These and other great companies, which time will not permit me to mention, had their origin in the aid and encouragement extended to them by the Government of their respective countries.

The parsimony of our Government in refusing to make any provision to bear up our flag on the ocean against this gigantic competition, is without parallel in the history of steam navigation.

Commodore NICHOLSON, U. S. N., in a brief speech at the anniversary banquet of the New-York Chamber of Commerce in May last, in the presence of the President of the United States and several members of the cabinet, said:

“You all know that our country needs a navy, for, with a navy,

no foreign foe shall set foot upon our shores. We also need a navy to protect our merchant marine. Look at our navy. What is it? Look at our commerce. What is that? Four years ago I was in the harbor of Rio de Janeiro and counted 26 large steamships. There were English, there were French, there were German, there were Italian, but there was not one American."

The same sad fact stares us in the face wherever we go. All must admit that the great achievement of our day, in the interest of the mercantile marine, was the opening of the Suez Canal. But have we profited by it?

In the year 1874, Great Britain passed through that Canal 898 vessels, measuring 1,797,464 tons. The same year France sent through 83 vessels, measuring 221,810 tons, but the United States—not one.

And now, Mr. President, in this humiliating condition of affairs, what are we to do to restore our prestige on the ocean, especially in the matter of steam navigation with foreign countries?

We must appeal to the self-interest of the nation. It is estimated that we pay about \$85,000,000 annually to foreign steamship companies for freight, passage-money and mail service, nearly all of which might be expended in American channels, for the benefit of all classes of our citizens, and give employment to a vast number of deserving men.

By supplying the places of these foreign vessels with ships of our own, we should restore such animation to our ship-yards as they have not seen for years. We should re-open the markets for ship-building materials. We should give joy to our mechanics and laboring men, and greatly promote our agricultural interests.

Ninety-five per cent. of the cost of an iron ship is for labor. To swing wide open the long-closed doors of this great industry, would gladden the hearts of millions of men. To secure this, Congress should act, and that promptly, by inviting proposals from American citizens for carrying the mails between the United States and foreign ports, with the assurance that, under proper guarantees, the contracts will be awarded to the lowest bidder. In justice and equity we have a right to demand this much, especially, considering what the Federal Government has done in past years in aid of public enterprises. It has donated to States and Corporations, mostly the Pacific Railroads, upwards of 200,000,000 acres of public lands, valued at more than \$50,000,000.

Besides the Pacific roads, among the many grants, there are

about seventy other rail-road companies that have received, at different periods, grants of public lands from Congress directly, or indirectly by means of concessions through the States.

The records of the Treasury Department show, that the assistance which the Pacific roads have received from bonds of the Government, and the interest paid thereon by the Government, amount, in round numbers, to \$92,000,000. About \$65,000,000 of these bonds are regarded as contingent, and may hereafter be refunded. But history shows that, with scarcely a single exception, Government grants of this kind are never repaid.

I revert to these grants, or subsidies, not to find fault with the policy that dictated them, but rather to call attention to the fact, that with one-tenth of the aid granted to these enterprises we could have restored our flag on every sea, and should now behold a majestic fleet of American ocean steamers, in charge of our own mails, laden with the products of the genius and labor of our own people, and bringing to us productions of other countries to increase our revenues.

Now let us look for a moment at our mail service on the land. The report of the Post Office Department for the fiscal year 1876, shows that we have thirty-one States and nine territories that are not self-supporting. The aggregate deficit in these States and territories that year, to be precise on this point, was \$6,774,765 41.

Among the States and territories who thus received Government aid, we find that—

Ohio was subsidized to the amount of	.	.	.	\$613,340 49
Missouri	"	"	"	379,609 59
Nebraska	"	"	"	368,287 51
Texas	"	"	"	353,146 29
Illinois	"	"	"	342,723 98

The Post Office receipts in a few of the States were greater than the disbursements. But the deficit of the Department for carrying the mails of the whole country, that year, was \$4,620,000.

Now, for one half the amount paid annually by the General Government as a subsidy for carrying the mails in the single State of Ohio, a semi-monthly line of first class ocean steamers to Brazil can be sustained. This small sum will open to American industries a market of 11,000,000 of people, and enable us to sell to them as much as we now buy from them, instead of, as at present, selling them annually only \$7,250,000, while we buy from them \$15,450,000.

Is there a delegate on this floor, from any section of the Union,

that would countenance for a moment the withdrawal of this support to the States, because the mail service is a heavy tax upon the Federal Treasury? No, sir; certainly not! In surveying this vital question, there are higher considerations that enter into it than the mere striking of a balance upon the ledger. The intelligence, the pride, the patriotism of the American people would revolt at the mere suggestion of applying such a principle to the mail service on the land, and why should not like considerations be accorded to the mail service on the Ocean?

But, first of all, we want ships to carry the mails. Experience teaches us that they should be iron propellers of the highest class, in model, strength and speed. They can only be built advantageously near the immediate sources of iron and coal, and in that respect we are among the most favored of nations. Our country abounds in ship-building materials of every kind, at low prices. Our mechanics and mariners are second to none in the world, and they are ready and anxious to give honest labor for honest money. Millions of capital now await opportunities for judicious investment, under the condition that the experience of our own and other nations has shown, that a moderate compensation from the Government for carrying the public mails is indispensable to success. Aye, it is for *compensation*, not subsidies, that we appeal.

Mr. President: In view of the continued depression of our industrial and commercial interests, let us earnestly beseech Congress not to allow this auspicious moment to pass without taking the requisite steps towards aiding to restore the honor and prosperity of our country, by authorizing such mail contracts as will ensure success in the great struggle with rival nations for America's fair share of the commerce of the world.

At the close of Mr. COWDIN's remarks, the Convention unanimously tendered him a vote of thanks for his address, and requested him to furnish a copy for publication.

